

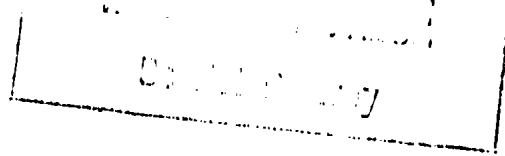
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CURRENT INTELLIGENCE STAFF STUDY

MAO TSE-TUNG AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

II. THE STATE FORM

("PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP")
(Reference Title:)

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CURRENT INTELLIGENCE STAFF STUDY

MAO TSE-TUNG AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

II. THE STATE FORM

("PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP")

This is a working paper, the third of a series of papers on Mao Tse-tung as a Marxist philosopher. This is the second concerned with Mao's alleged and actual contributions to aspects of historical materialism. There will soon follow a paper on Mao's treatment of the concept of "contradictions."

The Sino-Soviet Studies Group would welcome comment on this paper. The paper, like the first two in this series, was written by [redacted] of the China Division of the Sino-Soviet Bloc Area, [redacted] comment addressed to the coordinator of the SSSG will again be forwarded to [redacted]

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SUMMARY

Chinese Communist theorists claim that Mao Tse-tung has contributed to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state with his concept of the "people's democratic dictatorship." This particular claim for Mao appears to be valid.

Whereas Marx had envisaged a dictatorship simply of the proletariat, Lenin had proposed adding--for a time--the peasants. Mao originally accepted Lenin's view, but in the late 1930s he began to add to the select circle another class--the middle or "national" bourgeoisie. Mao regarded this class as having the essential characteristic of anti-imperialism.

Lenin had also envisaged that the peasants would eventually be discarded as partners in the dictatorship, and Stalin did this. Mao has not followed this precedent; he has preserved the "people's democratic dictatorship" of several classes.

The Chinese have sometimes shown sensitivity to Soviet efforts to obscure Mao's concept. Moscow has been concerned with the prestige-value of the concept--which Mao has presented as an indispensable state form for underdeveloped countries--and, in consequence, with the possible expansion of Chinese influence, at Soviet expense, among the Communist parties of these countries. There is evidence that at least three Asian Communist parties--of Indonesia, Burma, and Malaya--have in fact accepted Mao's concept.

The Chinese Communists themselves have sometimes contributed to obscuring Mao's concept by agreeing with Soviet theorists that the "people's democratic dictatorship" is only a "form" of proletarian dictatorship. This formulation means simply that power is held as exclusively by the Chinese party as by the Soviet party. In theory, Mao is a revisionist, while in practice the Communist dictatorship in China is applied with such vigor as to disturb even some observers in the bloc.

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MAO TSE-TUNG AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISMII. THE STATE FORM("PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP")

According to Marx, destruction of the bourgeois state is not peaceful but revolutionary, and what the proletariat establishes is not socialism or democracy but a transitional state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. (1) "Between capitalist and Communist society," Marx says in his Critique of the Gotha Program of 1875, "lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." Emphasis in original (2) At various points in their writings, Engels and Lenin elaborated on the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as did Stalin. Since at least 1949, Chinese Communist theorists have claimed that Mao too has further advanced the theory of state, of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1949, Tu Shou-su (3) and Li Mien (4) both say that Mao "further developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of state" by advancing the concept of the "people's democratic dictatorship." Similarly, in 1960, Liu Ping-lin says that, "Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the dictatorship of the proletariat, creating the theory of the people's democratic dictatorship." (5) Liu goes on to say that what Mao had discovered "for China" was "a new form of revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

The Chinese claim appears to be valid. The precise nature of Mao's originality--briefly, his substitution of the idea "people's democratic" (including national capitalists) for "proletariat" in describing a Communist dictatorship--emerges only from his relatively late writings. For in at least two rather early works, Mao merely follows Lenin's and Stalin's views.

Thus in his Why Can China's Red Political Power Exist? of October 1928, Mao speaks of an armed "workers' and peasants'" regime (6), and in A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire of January 1930, he speaks of "the correctness of the slogan about a workers' and peasants' democratic political power." (7)

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It was Lenin who, in 1905, departed from Marx's idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and proposed inclusion of the peasants in the concept. In his Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution, he says: "The task now is to define which classes must build the new superstructure...This definition is given in the slogan: The democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. This slogan defines...the character of the new superstructure (a "democratic" as distinct from a socialist dictatorship)..." as bourgeois-democratic development was still the order of the day in Russia. (8) /emphasis in original/ Stalin applies the slogan to China in 1926:

I think that the future revolutionary government in China will in general resemble in character the government we used to talk about in our country in 1905, that is, something in the nature of a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, with the difference, however, that it will be first and foremost an anti-imperialist government. This shall be an interim state power for China to attain non-capitalist development. (9)

This idea of workers' and peasants' political power, originally Lenin's, was not only used by Mao in October 1928 and January 1930, but also appears in the 1931 constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic (Kiangsi). That constitution referred to the political power of "the state of the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants." (10)

But in the late 1930s, Mao began to develop his own idea of Communist dictatorship, carrying Lenin's innovation one step further by bringing yet another class--the "middle," or "national," bourgeoisie--into the circle of the select. The "big" bourgeoisie, compradors, landlords, "bullying gentry," and the reactionary section of the "vagrants" (lumpenproletariat) were excluded.

In Chapter 2 of The Chinese Revolution and the CCP (December 1939), Mao, describing what he calls a "new democracy" revolution in China, says:

Politically, it means the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes...Economically, it means nationalization of all big capital and big enterprises...distribution of the land of landlords among the peasants, and

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at the same time the general preservation of private capitalist enterprises.... [emphasis supplied] (11)

Mao goes on to say that the "new democracy" revolution results in the "dictatorship of the united front of all revolutionary classes" (12), without explicitly including the national bourgeoisie. But Chapter 2 carries throughout the implication that this class is indeed a member of the new "united front," or "joint," dictatorship, as "The national bourgeoisie...oppressed by imperialism...constitutes one of the revolutionary forces." (13)

On New Democracy (January 1940) strongly implies that the national bourgeoisie would be one of the classes to participate in the future Communist state power. Mao first says that the Chinese revolution aims at establishing "a new democracy society" and "a state under the joint dictatorship of all revolutionary classes." (14) He then sets forth the prime criterion for determining the loyalty to minimum Communist policies: anti-imperialist attitude. "No matter what classes...join the revolution...so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian socialist world revolution and they themselves become its allies." (15) Thus, the Chinese national bourgeoisie "...even in the era of imperialism" retains to a certain degree "a revolutionary quality which enables it...to ally with the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie to oppose the enemies it sets itself against." [emphasis supplied] (16) It apparently is, therefore, one of the revolutionary classes destined to play a role in the "joint dictatorship."

The first explicit reference in Mao's works to the national bourgeoisie as one of the classes of the new, Maoist dictatorship is made in On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (July 1949) (17). Mao says:

All the experiences of the Chinese people...tell us to carry out a people's democratic dictatorship....

Who are the "people"? At the present stage in China they are the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie. (18)

"This clear and correct definition," says Tu Shou-su, "leaves no confusion." (19) It is primarily to these lines that

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Chinese theorists point when they credit Mao with having further developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

According to the Chinese, at precisely what point did Mao develop this theory? Liu Ping-lin makes the inclusion of the national bourgeoisie the decisive factor. "The people's democratic dictatorship accepted the participation of the national bourgeoisie; it was, therefore, different from the 'Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Democratic Dictatorship' proposed by Lenin during the 1905 Russian revolution." (20)

Liu's rejection of Lenin's formula, which Stalin in 1926 had declared would be the future form of state power in China, is a reflection of Mao's persisting reluctance to accept the Russian idea. It was Mao's desire to establish a new, Chinese formula to describe state power. Liu states: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung has created a new form of proletarian revolutionary dictatorship for our country and found the most correct road, the road of the people's democratic dictatorship." [emphasis supplied] (21)

Mao's formulation is indeed a new one. For Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, the Communist dictatorship following the revolution was not to include the middle, or national, bourgeoisie. They never saw this class as part of the "people" in a Communist-controlled state. On at least two occasions, Lenin explains Marx's use of the term, "people," as indicating only the workers and peasants, the latter constituting part of the petty bourgeoisie.

In 1905, Lenin says: "It now remains to define more precisely what Marx really meant by 'democratic bourgeoisie' (demokratische Burgerschaft), which together with the workers he called the people, in contradistinction to the big bourgeoisie...There is no doubt that the chief components of the 'people,' whom Marx in 1848 contrasted with the resisting reactionaries and the treacherous bourgeoisie, are the proletariat and peasantry." (22)

Regarding the "liberal bourgeoisie," Lenin excludes them from the ranks of the "people" after the revolution, as they will betray the peasants by taking the side of the landlords. In 1917, Lenin points out that in a letter to Dr. Kugelmann

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(12 April 1871), Marx spoke of a "people's revolution." (23) He then says that, "the idea of a 'people's' revolution seems strange on Marx's lips, and the Russian Plekhanovites and Mensheviks...might possibly declare such an expression a 'slip of the tongue'...but in the Europe of 1871, the proletariat on the Continent did not constitute the majority of the people. A 'people's' revolution, actually sweeping the majority into its current, could be such only if it embraced both the proletariat and the peasantry. /During the revolution/ both classes then constituted the 'people.'" (24) After the revolution, when the new, transitional state is established, it can be, says Marx, only a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin's own use of the term, "people," also excludes the national bourgeoisie in the state form. In 1905, he defines the "people" as the "proletariat and peasantry, if we take the main, big forces and distribute the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie (also part of 'the people') between the two." /emphasis supplied/ (25) "The Jacobins of contemporary Social-Democracy--the Bolsheviks...--want the people, i.e., the proletariat and the peasantry, to settle accounts with the monarchy and the aristocracy in the 'plebian way....' (26) "There remains the 'people,' that is, the proletariat and peasantry...." (27) The peasants, designated by Lenin as "democratic," or "petty," bourgeoisie were to be used only to consummate a revolutionary seizure of power, after which the proletariat would mark them for discard: "In other words: when the democratic bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie ascends another step, when not only the revolution but the complete victory of the revolution becomes an accomplished fact, we shall 'substitute' (perhaps amid the horrified cries of new, future, Martynovs) for the slogan of the democratic dictatorship, the slogan of a socialist dictatorship of the proletariat...." (28)

That is what Lenin did after the Bolshevik takeover in 1917; the dictatorship of the proletariat was formalized by Stalin in 1936. But Mao did not follow this precedent after the CCP takeover in China in 1949. For reasons of prestige and broad popular support, Mao insisted then and insists today on preserving the unique ritualistic slogan of "people's democratic dictatorship."

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Since 1949, the Chinese have shown considerable sensitivity to apparent Soviet efforts to erode or conceal the uniqueness of Mao's slogan. In 1952, the Peking Jen-min Jih-pao noted with apparent delight the criticism by Soviet scholars of the book, Historical Materialism (Konstantinov, editor), which had "incorrectly" described China's state form. Jen-min Jih-pao reports the criticism:

In the last paragraph of Section 2, Chapter 9, "On the Soviet Socialist State," the writer states that the People's Republic of China has established a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. This definition fails to indicate full and correctly the characteristics and special features of the state power of the People's Republic of China (genuine people's and democratic state power)....

The writer does not give attention to the alliance of the working class and the national bourgeoisie formed in New China, although this aspect should not be neglected in describing the characteristics of the development of the people's republic in China.
(29)

In discussing China's "people's democratic dictatorship," other Soviet writers seem to have made it a standard procedure to conceal its originality by equating it with the Lenin-Stalin slogan. Thus V. Maslennikov, describing the nature of Chinese "people's democracy," credits Stalin, among other things, with having "predicted" that the future revolutionary power would be "something like" Lenin's "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" which would be a state form in the state of transition to socialism. (30)

The Chinese effort to resist Soviet imposition of the Lenin-Stalin slogan is manifest in the manner used by Chang Ju-hsin in treating this slogan in his eulogy of Stalin in April 1953. (Chang's essay is a tribute to Mao as well.) Chang's procedure is simple: he conspicuously deletes Stalin's phrase, "that is, something in the nature of a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry":

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In his article On the Prospects of the Revolution in China, published in 1926, Stalin wrote:

"I think that the future revolutionary government in China will in general resemble in character the government we used to talk about in our country in 1905-----with the difference, however, that it will be first and foremost an anti-imperialist government. This shall be an interim state power for China to attain non-capitalist development.
(31) /Chang's dashes indicating deletion/

Chang goes on to say that China's state power belongs to the general "type of state power" described by Stalin, but then quotes from Mao's On People's Democratic Dictatorship the passage which specifically includes the national bourgeoisie.

We may now ask, Why did Moscow attempt to blur the distinction between a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry and a "people's democratic dictatorship"? There are several reasons, the most obvious being the Chinese claim that Mao had "further developed" the Marxist-Leninist theory of state.

Whether it was accurate to claim that a Communist-led state is anything but a dictatorship of the proletariat (i.e., of the Communist party)--whether the claim was true to life--is a matter which probably did not much concern the Soviets. They were not interested in the accuracy of the claim: they were concerned with the prestige-value of the claim.

In addition, the Soviets probably were irritated by the independent way in which Mao had first formulated his new "people's democratic dictatorship" as clearly distinct from the Soviet model and by the international significance he assigned it. In 1940, describing his joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes as a "new democracy republic," Mao openly makes the following distinctions:

On the one hand, this new democracy republic is different from the old European-American form of capitalist republic under bourgeois dictatorship, for such an old democratic republic is already out of date; on the other hand, it is also different from the socialist

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republics of the type of the USSR, republics of the dictatorship of the proletariat; such socialist republics are already flourishing in the Soviet Union and moreover will be established in all the capitalist countries and undoubtedly will become the dominant form of state structure and political power in all industrially advanced countries, yet, during a given historical period, they are not yet suitable for the revolutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Therefore the form of state to be adopted by the revolutions in colonial and semicolonial countries during a given historical period can only be a third one, namely, the new democracy republic. This is the form for a given historical period and therefore a transitional form, but an unalterable and necessary form.
[emphasis supplied] (32)

That is, according to Mao, a dictatorship of the proletariat is applicable to the Soviet Union and industrially advanced countries, but is by no means pertinent to the backward, colonial, or semicolonial nations.

By advancing this idea, Mao has taken a step beyond Marx's statement in the Critique of the Gotha Program, i.e., that the state in the transition period "can be nothing else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." Mao insists that for backward countries, the "state can be nothing else but the revolutionary people's democratic dictatorship" or a "people's dictatorship."

Chinese Communist theorists are aware that Mao's "people's democratic dictatorship" is a revision of Marx and have in effect said so. Thus in October 1953, theorist Chi Yun says:

The problem of the transition period had been raised in Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program, 1875, when he wrote: "Between capitalist and socialist [sic] society is the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

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But at that time there was yet no practical experience in the building of socialism which could be used. Marx was therefore able to bring forth this problem only as a principle. (33)

Chi then says that Lenin found the concrete road for "Russia's transition" which was further developed by Stalin, but that the form adopted by China "differs from that of the Soviet Union and other people's democratic states because originally we were not a capitalist nation, but rather a semicolonial, semifeudal nation." China's form, he concludes, was "discovered" by Mao, who advanced the political theory of the "people's democratic dictatorship."

Stalin's did not regard Mao's revision of Marx's dictatorship of the proletariat as an academic point; on the contrary, it was a practical matter. Acceptance of the slogan "people's dictatorship" by Communist parties in backward countries would afford a new channel for the spread of Chinese influence among these parties at Soviet expense. (34)

Furthermore, Stalin had "predicted" in 1926 that the state form in China would resemble Lenin's two-class dictatorship, and Stalin was not a man who would permit his foresight on any matter to be taken lightly.

There is evidence that the Chinese were successful in inducing some acceptance of the Mao slogan. Burmese Communist, Myat Htoo, stated in April 1953 that the Communist party in Burma must "set up a dictatorship of four classes: the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie." (35) Also in 1953, the Indonesian Communists used Mao's slogan of "people's dictatorship" in their Draft Program and Election Manifesto. The Draft Program, approved in October 1953, stated that, "considering the backwardness of our economy, the Indonesian Communist party hold that the future government should not be one of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat,' but rather a government of people's dictatorship." (36) The Indonesian Communist party's Election Manifesto of 1954 declared: "The party must carry through a people's dictatorship...A people's dictatorship means the rule of workers, peasants, intellectuals, and petty and national bourgeoisie (entrepreneurs)... Without a people's dictatorship, there can be no complete independence and Democracy for Indonesia...." (37) The dictatorship of several revolutionary classes was also incorporated into the program of the Malayan Communist party. (38)

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Use of the Chinese slogan by these Asian Communist parties suggests that they rejected a Soviet effort to impose on all Asian Communist movements Lenin's formula of a two-class -- i.e., workers'-peasants' -- dictatorship, in line with Stalin's 1926 "prediction."

The Scientific Conference in Moscow in November 1951 had laid it down that, "People's democracy in countries of the Orient is a specific form of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry..." (39), and in October, A. Sobolev had already written in Bol'shevik that the first stage of people's democracy is a revolution "in the course of which people's democracy emerges as the organ of revolutionary power, which is in content something like a dictatorship of the working class and peasantry." (40)

The theory of "people's democracy," which was developed by Soviet theorists in 1947, may have been taken, in part, from Mao's 1939-45 theory of "new democracy." (41) There are many striking similarities between the two theories: both contain concepts of a new type of transition to socialism based on a coalition of classes, land redistribution as a "bourgeois democratic" measure playing a large role in the transition period, "feudal vestiges" and the foreign enemy as forces which cause the union of the patriotic bourgeoisie with other revolutionary classes, and temporary rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the state form. (42)

At the same time, Mao's idea of the dictatorship of a bloc or "front" of several classes -- rather than of one class -- appears in G. M. Dimitrov's speech at the Seventh Comintern Congress in 1935. According to Dimitrov, a "people's front" government, which was to be broader than a united front government, should be established in Europe. It would include the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, and certain "advanced sections" of the bourgeois intellectuals (intelligentsia). (43) The Resolution of the Seventh Congress ordered the sections of the International, if possible, "to create a proletarian united front government or an anti-fascist people's front government, which is not yet a government of proletarian dictatorship...." [emphasis in original] (44) The workers would not yet be ready to rise under Communist leadership "for the achievement of Soviet power." (45)

These statements of 1935 come close to Mao's 1939 and 1940 remarks on a "joint dictatorship" of several revolutionary classes

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which was to include the national capitalists. But neither Dimitrov nor the Resolution called for inclusion of the national capitalists in the "people's front government." The similarity between the Dimitrov and Mao formulations appears to be the explicit, temporary rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat; for Mao, however, this rejection became permanent..

If Dimitrov in 1935 anticipated one aspect of Mao's theory of a people's government -- rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat -- he was, in 1948, eager to dispel the notion that Communist regimes could be anything but such a dictatorship:

Embodying the rule of the toilers under the leadership of the working class, the people's democracy...can and must successfully perform its functions of proletarian dictatorship for the liquidation of capitalist elements and the organization of a socialist economy. (46)

For his part, Mao clung to his idea of a joint dictatorship or a "people's democratic dictatorship" even when, in 1953, the first five year plan for China was introduced and the "transition to socialism" was declared in progress.

To enter this transition period, that is, to begin the "construction of socialism," without proclaiming a dictatorship of the proletariat was unprecedented in Communist theory. After 1943, all the Eastern European "people's democracies" were declared to be "performing the functions of" proletarian dictatorship, although they were states without the "Soviet form" and were, therefore, not as advanced as the Soviet Union. They moved to exclude the national capitalists from their structure as the "construction of socialism" began. (47)

In contrast, the Chinese continued their independent course, as the CCP led by Mao demonstrated that Stalin's theorists might drum the Eastern European leaders into line but could not bend the independent leader of China. In July 1951, Hu Chiao-mu, author of the standard history of the CCP, stated emphatically in his work that:

In the present historical period, the PRC still permits the national bourgeoisie to exist. Herein lies the difference between people's democracy in China and people's democracy in the countries of southeast Europe. (48)

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When, in 1953, China's "transition to socialism" was announced, the people's democratic dictatorship was held to be the proper form for attaining socialism. By a dialectical twist, one Chinese theorist denied that a continuation of the "alliance and coalition with the national bourgeoisie could be held a weakening of the class struggle." (49) Again by a dialectical twist, yet another theorist denied that there was a real ("essential") difference between the state power of proletarian dictatorship and the people's democratic dictatorship (50); the difference was only a matter of "form." Soviet theorists agreed that this was so.

A dialectical compromise appears to have been worked out between Moscow and Peiping. The new Chinese-Soviet view that the people's democratic dictatorship was only a different "form" of proletarian dictatorship apparently was intended to bring Mao's formulation a step closer to the mainstream of Leninism and, therefore, to Soviet theory. For Lenin had conceded that "The transition from capitalism to Communism will certainly bring a great variety and abundance of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be only one: the dictatorship of the proletariat." (51) /emphasis supplied/ Yet the Chinese maintain that a "people's democratic dictatorship" is sufficiently different from proletarian dictatorship to warrant retention of Mao's slogan. Thus the dialectical distinction permitted the Chinese to have their cake and eat it too: different in "form" and similar in "essence."

Speaking of this well-known philosophical distinction in the works of Aristotle, Bertrand Russell stated in his A History of Western Philosophy (1945) that the concept of "essence" is "muddle-headed...incapable of precision." Soviet and Chinese theorists in 1953 did not desire precision; what they desired was ambiguity, and they attained it.

Liu Shao-chi gave the new Chinese-Soviet view considerable prominence by stating the ambiguous formula at the Eighth CCP Congress in September 1956: "...the people's democratic dictatorship has in essence become a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (52)

This was a pill which even Khrushchev would permit himself to swallow, and at the Chinese embassy in Moscow he acknowledged on 26 November 1956 that the Chinese had established a "people's democratic dictatorship." As Pravda expressed it at the time,

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China's people's democracy "represents in fact the dictatorship of the proletariat." /emphasis supplied/ (53) Thus there is no real difference between proletarian dictatorship and people's democratic dictatorship. Power is held as exclusively by the CCP as it is by the CPSU.

In theory, continued existence of the bourgeoisie as a class is a revision of Marx and Lenin and, in the Marxist-Leninist sense, Mao is a revisionist. In practice, the Communist dictatorship in China is applied to non-capitalists as well as capitalists with a vigor and terror that is offensive even to some members of the bloc.

NOTES

1. Marx first uses the term, "dictatorship of the proletariat," in his The Class Struggles in France of 1850. Two years later, Marx describes his achievements in a letter to Weydemeyer (5 March 1852):

What I did that was new was to prove: (1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular, historic phases in the development of production; (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society. /emphasis in original/

2. Marx-Engels: Selected Works, Volume II, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955, pp. 32-33.
3. Tu Shou-su: "Chairman Mao's On the People's Democratic Dictatorship -- A Program for the development of the Chinese Revolution and the Crystallization of the Ideology of Mao Tse-tung," in The Theory and Practice of the People's Democratic Dictatorship, Tuan-chieh Chu-pan She, 20 October 1949, Canton, page 11.
4. Li Mien: "The People's State -- A Study Note on People's Democratic Dictatorship," in The Theory and Practice of the People's Democratic Dictatorship, op. cit., p. 32.

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5. Liu Ping-lin: "Seriously Study Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Doctrine on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Tsinan Ta-chung Jih-pao, 12 May 1960.
6. Mao Tse-tung: Selected Works, Volume I, International Publishers, New York, 1954, p. 67.
7. Mao Tse-tung: ibid., p. 117.
8. Lenin: Selected Works, Volume I, Part 2, Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1952, p. 137. Trotsky saw use of the new worker-peasant formula as merely tactical, concealing real "working class" (i.e., Communist or Social-Democratic) aims:

It is...absurd to speak of a specific character of proletarian dictatorship (or a dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry) within a bourgeois revolution, viz., a purely democratic dictatorship. The working class can never secure the democratic character of its dictatorship without overstepping the limits of its democratic program. [emphasis in original]

Cf. Leon Trotsky: "Prospects of a Labor Dictatorship (1906)," in Our Revolution -- Essays on Working-Class and International Revolution, 1904-1917, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1918.
9. Stalin: "Prospects of the Revolution in China" (November 1926), Works, Volume VIII. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, p. 382.
10. Outline Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic (Adopted at the First National Congress of Chinese Soviets on November 7, 1931), in Su-wei-ai Chung-kuo (Soviet China), printed in Moscow in Chinese, Soviet Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1933, pp. 38-39.
11. Mao Tse-tung: Selected Works, op. cit., Volume 3, pp. 96-97.

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12. Mao Tse-tung: ibid., p. 97. The original text, published prior to the establishment of the Communist regime in 1949, also calls for the "dictatorship of the united front of several revolutionary parties" in addition to the revolutionary classes. (Cf. Mao Tse-tung: Hsuan-chi (Selected Works), Ta-lien (Dairen) Ta-chung Shu-tien, November 1947, pp. 185-186.)
13. Ibid., p. 89.
14. Ibid., pp. 111-112.
15. Ibid., pp. 114-115.
16. Ibid., pp. 116-117.
17. In an earlier work -- On Coalition Government (April 1945) -- Mao included the national bourgeoisie -- along with workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, and the urban petty bourgeoisie -- as one of the classes which desired a "new-democratic state system." But he avoids, with deliberateness, mentioning his "joint dictatorship" of several classes, and, in an additional effort to conceal the fact that a Communist-led "coalition government" would be a bogus system, he explicitly denies that a proletarian dictatorship "following the example of the Russian Communists" will be established in China.
18. Mao Tse-tung: On People's Democratic Dictatorship, Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., London, 1950, p. 15.
19. Tu Shou-su: "Chairman Mao's On the People's Democratic Dictatorship -- A Program for the Development of the Chinese Revolution and the Crystallization of the Ideology of Mao Tse-tung," in op. cit., p. 11.
20. Liu Ping-lin : "Seriously Study Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Doctrine on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, op. cit.
21. Ibid.
22. Lenin: "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," in Selected Works, Volume I, Part 2, op. cit., pp. 144-146.

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23. Lenin: State and Revolution, International Publishers, New York, 1935, p. 33.
24. Ibid., pp. 34-35.
25. Lenin: "Two Tactics....," in Selected Works, op. cit., p. 56.
26. Ibid.; p. 59.
27. Ibid., p. 104.
28. Ibid., p. 140.
29. "The Problem of the Character of the Chinese Revolution Appear in Discussions on the New Soviet Book. Historical Materialism," Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, 28 April 1952. (For an account of the Soviet discussion, see Voprosy filosofii (Problems of Philosophy), No. 4, 1951, Moscow, which carried a report on the enlarged conference of the Soviet Institute of Philosophical Studies and the Department of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences.)
30. V. Maslennikov: "On the Nature of People's Democracy in China," Voprosy Ekonomiki, No. 3, March, 1953.
31. Chang Ju-hsin: "Stalin's Great Theoretical Contributions to the Chinese Revolution," Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, 3 April 1953.
32. Mao Tse-tung: "On New Democracy," in Selected Works, Volume 3, op. cit., p. 119.
33. Chi Yun: "The Economy of the Transition Period from Capitalism to Socialism," Hsueh-hsi (Study), 2 October 1953.
34. The first significant extension of Chinese influence among Asian Communist parties began shortly after the establishment of the Chinese Communist regime (1 October 1949) when, on 23 November, Liu Shao-chi told the Trade Union Conference of Asian and Australasian Countries that

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The road taken by the Chinese people in defeating imperialism...is the road that should be taken by the peoples of many colonial and semi-colonial countries in their fight for national independence and people's democracy... This is the road of Mao Tse-tung. (Shanghai, Wen Hui Pao, 25 November 1949)

But two years later, Moscow changed the line and apparently prevailed on the Chinese for a time to discard their effort to impose Mao's revolutionary-military model on other Asian Communist movements. The concept, "Mao Tse-tung's road" -- a feature of Chinese propaganda since Liu's speech of November 1949 -- disappeared from Chinese publications in November 1951.

This abrupt turn resulting in silence took place simultaneously with the presentation of a report to the Scientific Conference held in the Oriental Studies Institute of the Academy of Sciences USSR by the principal speaker, Ye. Zhukov, in November 1951. In his report, Zhukov had said that, "it would be risky to regard the Chinese revolution as some kind of 'stereotype' for people's-democratic revolutions in other countries of Asia." (Cf. "On the Character of Peculiarities of People's Democracy in Countries of the East," Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR, Seriya Istorii i. Filosofii, Volume IX, No. 1, 1952, pp. 80-87)

Although the line of "Mao Tse-tung's road" was thereby temporarily held in check by Moscow, shortly after Stalin's death in March 1953, several Asian Communist parties openly accepted another of Mao's views -- viz., the "people's democratic dictatorship" or "people's dictatorship."

35. Myat Htoo: "A Report From Burma's Liberated Areas; the People's United Front Going Forward: A Single Marxist Party to Lead the National Fight Against Imperialism and Feudalism," in Crossroads, New Delhi, Volume IV, No. 50, 19 April 1953, pp. 8-9.

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36. Reprinted in Shih-chieh Chih-shih (World Knowledge), Peking, 3 December 1953.
37. Reprinted in Shih-chieh Chih-shih, 20 May 1954.
38. Chen Tsan-wei: "Malaya and the Five Year War of Resistance," Shih-chieh Chih-shih, 18 October 1953.
39. "On the Character and Peculiarities of People's Democracy in Countries of the East," Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR..., op. cit., p. 80.
40. A. Sobolev: "People's Democracy as a Form of Political Organization of Society," Bol'shevik, No. 19, October 1951, pp. 25-38.

Sobolev applies the Lenin formula to China in the way Stalin had applied it: "The revolutionary power which has been established in China as a result of the victory of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution is, in its content, something like a democratic dictatorship of the working class and peasantry."

There was, however, at least one instance in which a Soviet writer did not use Lenin's formula but Mao's. It is significant that this occurred after Stalin's death. Colonel A. Martynov, reviewing the first three volumes of Mao's Selected Works in the organ of the USSR Ministry of Defense, Krasnaya Zvezda, 1 December 1953, says:

"Creatively developing the ideas of Leninism, Mao Tse-tung, in his works, The Chinese Revolution and the CCP and On New Democracy, showed that the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China under the leadership of the proletariat would inevitably lead to the establishment of a people's democratic system with a dictatorship of the alliance of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces led by the proletariat." The credit given Mao by Martynov is a striking departure from Soviet writers' earlier treatment of his view of the future Communist dictatorship.

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41. Professor Benjamin Schwartz has posed this question in his excellent article, "China and the Soviet Theory of People's Democracy," Problems of Communism, No. 5, Volume 3, September-October 1954, p. 10: "Of particular import... was Varga's use of the phrases 'democracy of a new type' and 'new democracy.' It invites the speculation that at this time, Soviet theoreticians were paying some attention to Mao Tse-tung's 'theoretical contribution' to Marxism-Leninism.... There is a strong resemblance between features of Varga's 'democracy of a new type' and Mao's 'new democracy.'"

Discussing the Soviet theory of 1947, Professor Samuel L. Sharp says, "Mao Tse-tung seems to be the author of the term 'new democracy.'" (Cf. Samuel L. Sharp: "New Democracy: A Soviet Interpretation," American Perspective, Volume I, No. 6, November 1947.)

H. Gordon Skilling says that among Soviet theorists in 1947 "the expression 'new democracy' was for some time in common usage. This was gradually superseded, without explanation, during 1948 by the term 'people's democracy,' which is invariably used at the present time." (Cf. H. Gordon Skilling: "People's Democracy in Soviet Theory," Soviet Studies, Volume 3, No. 1, July 1951 and Volume 3, No. 2, December 1951.)

42. Benjamin Schwartz, Problems of Communism, op. cit., p. 10. Mao, of course, carefully avoids mentioning "leadership" or hegemony of the front or "bloc" in his "On Coalition Government" of 1945. Only after 1947 does Mao make explicit the "leadership" role of the proletariat (i.e., the CCP) in the front, openly saying in 1949 that the four classes in the new state of "people's democratic dictatorship...will be under the leadership of the working class and the CCP..." and "we have the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class (through the CCP)..." /emphasis supplied/ (On the People's Democratic Dictatorship, op. cit., pp. 15 and 22.)

The revision of the theory of "people's democracy" by Soviet writers in 1948 as a result of the Stalin-Tito break and signs of polycentrism in Eastern Europe, together with the final CCP takeover in China in 1949, obviated any further pretense by Mao that a genuine

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coalition or front of parties or classes would be established. When, therefore, The Chinese Revolution and the CCP (February 1939) and On New Democracy (January 1940) were reprinted in the post-1949 editions of Mao's Selected Works, the phrase "under the leadership of the proletariat" was inserted into those passages which discussed the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes.

43. "Report of Dimitrov on the Tasks of the Working Class," in VII Congress of the Communist International: Abridged Stenographic Report of the Proceedings, Moscow, 1939, p. 149.
44. "Resolution on the Report of Comrade Dimitrov," ibid., p. 579.
45. "Report of Dimitrov...", op. cit., pp. 174-175.
46. "Report of Dimitrov at the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party," 19 December 1948, in Free Bulgaria, 1 January 1949, p. 6.
47. Prior to the 1948 revision of the Soviet theory of people's democracy, Trainin stated that "the main driving forces of the new democracy are the people: the workers and peasants, who are joined by the progressive part of the bourgeoisie, its intelligentsia, and various democratic strata of the petty bourgeoisie." (Cf. I. P. Trainin: "Democracy of a Special Type, Sovetskoe Gosudarstvo i Pravo (Soviet Government and Law), No. 1, 1947.)

Trainin's description is a straightforward Maoist one of the classes participating in the state power structure. Also present is Mao's phrase, "new democracy."

Following the Stalin-Tito break and 1948 revision of the Soviet theory, Pravda's chief editor, Pospelov, wrote on 22 January 1949 that "the regime of people's democracy performs the function of a dictatorship of the proletariat in suppressing and abolishing capitalist elements, thus solving the problem of the transition from capitalism to socialism." [emphasis supplied]

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48. Hu Chiao-mu: Thirty Years of the CCP, Jen-min Chu-pan She, Peking, August 1952, second edition, p. 76.

The preamble to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (adopted 20 September 1954) states that the regime is "a people's democratic dictatorship." Article 5 includes "capitalist ownership" as a basic form of ownership of the means of production and Article 10 says that "The state protects the right of capitalists to own means of production and other capital according to law." (Cf. Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1954, pp. 3, 10, and 12.)

49. Wu Chiang: "The Transition Period and the Class Struggle," Hsueh-hsi, Peking, 2 June 1954.

50. "In essence, there is no difference between state-capitalism under a dictatorship of the proletariat and state-capitalism under a people's democratic dictatorship..." (Cf. Ti Chao-pai: "State-Capitalism in Our Transition Period," Hsueh-hsi, 2 February 1954.)

Other writers stated in late 1953 and 1954 that "in essence" the two dictatorships were similar.

The logic of this approach escaped many. Theorist Yu Kuang-yuan ventured an explanation to party members: "People might ask: Since the people's democratic dictatorship in China is now essentially a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, how are we to explain the fact that the national bourgeoisie has the right to vote? Under present conditions in China, the majority of the bourgeoisie find it possible to accept socialism; therefore, we must keep them as our ally...and let them take up important work in the government at all levels" ("The Class Nature of China's People's Democratic Dictatorship," Hsueh-hsi, 2 November 1956.) Yu also stated that the capitalists were needed for economic construction -- an argument which Liu Shao-chi had stressed in his political report to the CCP's Eighth Congress in September 1956.

51. Lenin: State and Revolution, op. cit., p. 31.

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52. "The Political Report of the Central Committee of the CCP to the Eighth National Congress of the Party," delivered by Liu Shao-chi on 15 September 1956, in Eighth National Congress of the CCP: Volume I, Documents, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1956, p. 19.
53. Y. Pavlov: "Who Benefits?", Pravda, 18 December 1956.